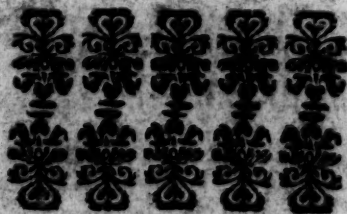


112 THE
SECOND PART
OF THE
DISSUASIVE
FROM
JACOBITISM: *k*

WHEREIN

The INTEREST of the CLERGY
and UNIVERSITIES, with rela-
tion to Popery and the Pretender,
is consider'd.

Lord Barrington



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THE
SECOND
DISCUSSION
JACOB



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*The SECOND PART of
the DISSUASIVE from
JACOBITISM, &c.*

IT can't be deny'd that the Clergy of the Church of *England*, in the Reign of the late King *James*, were unanimous in shewing an uncommon Zeal against Popery and Tyranny; and it was chiefly owing to their Discourses, that all Protestants, notwithstanding the Artifices of the Court to divide them, join'd so heartily in defence of their Religion and Liberties.

If these are as valuable as they were 25 Years ago, and 'tis as much our Duty to secure 'em against the Designs of a mere Pretender, as it was to defend 'em against the Attempts of an *actual* King; the Clergy, who are our spiritual Watchmen, and should spy Danger at a distance, ought certainly to lift up their Voice, and to cry aloud and spare not, when Danger so nearly threatens us from all sides: when on the one hand, there's such a prodigious Increase of Jacobitism at home, that our Foes may be said to be *those of our own Household*; and on the other hand, those Powers abroad on whom the Pretender relies, are, to the Astonishment of all *Europe*, become more formidable than ever; and if they could obtain such a Treaty of Commerce as they expect, would quickly become Masters of all the Treasure of this part of the World, as well as of the other, which is already in their hands.

In the time of King *Charles II.* the common People had so great an Abhorrence of Popery and Tyranny,

that they on all occasions shew'd their utmost Detestation of them.

Our Parliaments constantly express'd a noble Zeal against Popery and Slavery, as appears by all their Proceedings for the Exclusion of a Popish Successor; and by their Addresses against some, and Impeachment of others of the *Ministry*, who were *then* in the *Popish* and *French* Interest: and even those few whose Consciences were so squeamish as to scruple excluding a Papist from the Succession, quickly saw the necessity of dethroning a Popish King.

At the Revolution, all Party-Quarrels among Protestants were drop'd, and there was no other Contest, but who should show the greatest Abhorrence of Popery and Slavery, and appear the most active in defence of their Religion and Liberties: and would our Clergy once again infuse into the People (over whom Providence seems to have given them so great an Influence for this noble End) the same Apprehension of a Popish Successor, making them to forget all Party-Quarrels, and join heartily against the Pretender; we might still, in defiance of all the Contrivances of the Enemies of our Religion and Government, be a Nation of Freemen and Protestants.

By the bold and surprizing Steps some desperate Men continue to take, 'tis plain they are too far engag'd to think of a Retreat, and that either they or the Nation must perish; and therefore our Clergy, if they design once again to be the blessed Instruments of our Safety, must be as diligent and active in endeavouring to preserve, as they and their Mercenaries are to ruin us: and then what Thanks, what Acknowledgments would the Nation be bound to pay them, who should in so short a time have preserv'd them twice from the greatest Calamities!

But because the best Men, when temporal and spiritual Blessings draw different ways, do not act with the same Zeal as when they go together; I shall prove that the Clergy are oblig'd even by all the Motives of temporal Interest, to oppose the Designs of the Pretender; and that Popery, tho they should comply with it, may be instrumental in bringing it in, will reward them with nothing but Infamy and Beggary.

Our Secular Clergy, or Parish-Priests, if Popery prevails, will not, I suppose, expect to be in a better Condition, or to reap greater Advantages by the Change, than the Secular Clergy enjoy in those Countries which have continu'd always firm to Popery.

Now 'tis notorious, that the Secular Clergy amongst Papists are worse provided for, and live in much worse Circumstances, than they do among the Protestants; the Popes out of the Plenitude of their Power having taken most of the Tithes and other Church-Revenues from them, and bestow'd them on the Regulars or Religious Orders: who depending solely on the Pope, may be justly reckon'd his standing Forces, by whom he keeps the Secular Clergy in subjection; having in many places Garisons of them within a few miles of each other: and as numerous and rich as they are, he is still adding to their Number and Riches, and contriving new ways of depressing the Secular Clergy, of whose Fidelity he is extremely jealous, since they immediately depend on the Bishops, who can't well brook that not only all the Regulars are freed from their Jurisdiction, but that in many places both Laity and Clergy are exempted from their Power, and themselves treated as if they were only the Pope's Subjects and Servants.

Mr. *Lesley*, notwithstanding his great Zeal for the Pretender, yet in his *Case of the Regale and Pontificate*, sufficiently discourages our Secular Clergy from submitting to the Papal Yoke, by showing how vilely they are treated by the Pope, and in what miserable Bondage they are held by him. And among other things of this nature, he says *, ' That the Pope, as supreme Treasurer of the Church, has sweetly dispos'd of her Patrimony; he has appropriated to the Regulars, and sold and infeodated to other Laymen (for all the Regulars are not Clergy) all the Tithes in *Italy*, and most in other Popish Countries. The Regulars †, of which he has vast Swarms, may justly be call'd the Pope's Life-Guards, depending absolutely and solely on him, and serving him to purpose in battling on all occasions his great Foe, Episcopacy.'

* Pag. 151. Ed. 2.

† Ibid. p. 149.

As the Court of *Rome* formerly drain'd this bigotted Nation more than any other, so they most intolerably oppress'd the Secular Clergy, of which upon all occasions they grievously complain'd. This made them, in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* willing to change the Papal for the Regal Supremacy; and they judg'd right, because by it they prevented the Pope's giving away any more of their Revenues: which is the sole Reason, that our Secular Clergy are more amply provided for, than they are in any Popish Countries.

The Pope, if ever he should again get the same Power that he once had in *England*, to prevent being serv'd as he was at the Reformation (which could not have been brought about without destroying the Monasteries) will no doubt think it necessary, not only to get all the old Revenues restor'd to the Religious Houses, but to augment them, by robbing the Secular Clergy; whom he may treat as barbarously as he pleases, without being hinder'd by Princes or other Great Men: because their Confessors being Regulars, dispose them to have no more regard for the Seculars, than the Popes themselves. And the great Learning of many of the Regulars, and the seemingly great Austerities that several Orders undergo, and their living in Societies under the strictest Obedience to their Superiors, make 'em better able to carry on their common Interest, and more dextrous in imposing on the unthinking Laity than the Parish-Priests, who want all those Advantages. And therefore the Regulars do not fail to draw to themselves all the Veneration of the People, especially of the Women, who are devoted to 'em Body and Soul; while the Seculars have no manner of Interest with the People, are oppress'd by their own Bishops, squeez'd by the Pope's Officers, miserably expos'd by the Regulars, who bear them an immortal Hatred, and who study nothing more than to turn them into Ridicule even with the *Mob*; and with such success, that one who had only seen the Respect which by Protestants is paid to the Secular Clergy, would scarce think it possible they should in Popish Countries meet with so much Contempt: there being a thousand Stories commonly reported of their gross Ignorance, Folly and Debauchery, and most of them invented by Monks and

Nay,

Nay, such an Enemy is Popery to the Secular Clergy, that it only retains 'em to keep up a sort of Form of Godliness in such places as are at too great a distance from the Monasteries; whereas in Cities, or in Places which lie contiguous to any Order, the Regulars engross the Pulpits, and the Seculars are either quite laid aside, or else reduc'd to a Condition little better than that of our Parish-Clerks: and the Papists believe, that had it not been for the Regulars, the Protestant Heresy would have prevail'd every where: nay, they think their Seculars as unqualify'd to oppose any settled Heresy, as a Militia is to make a stand against a well-disciplin'd Army. And therefore if the Pretender prevails, the Regular Clergy being the fittest to deal with the well-form'd Heresy of the Protestants, will be the only Men in Esteem; and the Papists will think they can't too much increase their Number, or bestow too many of the Ecclesiastical Revenues on 'em, tho to the ruin of the Secular Clergy. And if this be the best Usage our Clergy can expect, should they fall under the Papal Power, it concerns them to use their utmost Endeavours to prevent it.

Some perhaps imagine, that tho the People and the Pope will favour the Regulars, yet that the Prince in Interest will be oblig'd to support the Bishops and Secular Clergy: but I am afraid the contrary will be found to be true; since, as Bishop *Burnet* informs us *, ' It was
' out of fear of the Bishops assuming more Power than
' the Popes, that the Princes of *Europe* came to an Agreement with the latter in Ecclesiastical Matters; for
' upon their being long at *Avignon*, and the great
' Schisms afterwards at *Rome*, the Councils began to pretend that the Power of governing was in them; and
' they declar'd that both Popes and Princes who should
' attempt to hinder their frequent Meetings, were fallen
' from their Dignity: and they carry'd it so far, as to
' make themselves independent of the Civil Authority,
' particularly as to Points of Election. This generally
' dispos'd Princes to enter into an Agreement with the
' Popes, and they yielded a great deal to be protected
' in what they had reserv'd to themselves.'

* Expofit. of Artic. 21, & 37.

That Popes and Popish Princes think themselves oblig'd in Interest to support each others Authority against the Bishops and Secular Clergy, is own'd by High-Church as well as Low. And Mr. *Lesley* * (who differs with the Bishop of *Sarum* in almost every thing else) says, ' That the Bishop of *Rome*, out of the Plenitude of his Power, has sold the Right and Authority of other Bishops to Kings and Secular Princes, on condition that they should aggrandize his See, and maintain him in his Usurpation. Thus sharing the Spoils of the Church with those who were able to keep his Robbery from being question'd (as Bishop *Burnet* says in his History of the Regale) the Kings and Popes agreed to divide all the Promotions between 'em.—They † have agreed to support and maintain each other.' But I refer the Reader to the Author, who has, as he will find, fully prov'd this point.

If this be so, all that our Secular Clergy could expect to get by complying with Popery, wou'd be to have the King, as well as the Pope, their Enemies ; who would think themselves in Interest bound to support the Regulars, and not only restore them to their antient Demesnes, but to add new Favours to them.

Our Secular Clergy were never in a worse Condition, than when Popery flourish'd most, as in the Reign of *Henry III.* for then, as *N. Bacon* || observes from *Matt. Paris*, ' There was scarce a Year without some Exactions levy'd on the Churchmen, either by Provisors, Tenths, Procurations, Levies for the Holy Wars, Quindezms, Benevolences, and other such-like ; and where Money was not to be had, by Levies of Ornaments or of rich Apparel, Intimation, Begging, Persuading, Commanding, Threatning ; and in this Course continuing, till they out-fac'd even Shame it self, and the whole Law of *Rome* became comprehended in this one Maxim, *Quicquid libet, licet*. The Laity were pillag'd by the King, the Clergy much more by the Pope and King :

* Case of the Regale and Pontificate, p. 147. Ed. 2.

† Ibid. p. 151.

|| *Bacon's Government of England*, c. 1. p. 225, 226.

‘ If the one complain’d, the other cry’d ; the one some-
 ‘ times found Relief from the King, the other was
 ‘ helpless; for the Pope had no Ears to hear, nor the
 ‘ King Hands to help : he neither wou’d nor durst cross
 ‘ the Pope, altho the Clergy told him that by these Ex-
 ‘ actions they were impoverish’d in such manner, as
 ‘ they were disabled from doing him Service for their
 ‘ *Lay-Fees*. The *English* Clergy then saw all was not
 ‘ Gold that glister’d, nor that it was any great privilege
 ‘ to be the Pope’s Men, farther than the Pope would be
 ‘ a good Master : But this was not to be expected, Popes
 ‘ were grown so excellent they could not amend, and
 ‘ *England* so enamour’d of them, that it became their
 ‘ *Vere Hortus Deliciarum*, as the Popes call’d it.”

As the Popes wanted no pretext to lay what Taxes
 they pleas’d on the Clergy, so it cost them likewise an
 incredible Sum in Appeals, and other Methods which the
 Court of *Rome* took to draw the Cognizance of at least
 all the most considerable Ecclesiastical Causes to it self :
 and *Rome* was full of *English* Clergymen, who either had
 Causes depending, or were waiting for Preferments, Dis-
 pensations, &c. To draw the Bishops frequently to
Rome, every Bishop oblig’d himself at his * Consecration
 by Oath to visit it once in three Years ; which was not
 dispens’d with but by a round Sum : and they paid no
 less for their Bulls of Confirmation, &c. The 6 H. 4.
 c. 1. which enacts that no more shall be paid for the
 First-Fruits of Bishops than was antiently used, says,
 this was made to prevent the *Horrible* Mischief and
Damnable Custom of *Rome* ; which, if History informs
 us right, grew to be as *Horrible* and *Damnable* in all
 other Matters : and as the Bishops, who had sworn ab-
 solute Obedience to the Pope, were intolerably oppress’d
 by him, so he suffer’d them in their turns to squeeze the
 Secular Clergy.

As our Kings kept up a Claim to that Supremacy
 which was fully restor’d to H. 8. so till then, as my Au-
 thor observes †, ‘ The Clergy were troubled with a Mul-

* *Bacon of the Government of England*, par. 1. p. 184.

† *Ibid.* par. 2. p. 229.

‘tiplicity of Summons, sometimes from the King, sometimes from [the Pope, sometimes from the Metropolitan; their Masters, their Minds, their Work was all double, their Counsels uncertain, sometimes displeasing to the Pope, sometimes to the King, and generally to themselves.’ And nothing was so fatal to the Clergy, as when our Kings and Popes happen’d to agree; as they always did, when the former wanted their Assistance to oppress their Subjects: for then they were pillag’d on both sides without mercy.

Cou’d our *English* Clergy, when Popery prevails, keep their Preferments, they will not only be subject to these and a great many other Inconveniences of the like nature: but as Popery will unavoidably be attended with Arbitrary Power, so they will suffer equally with the Laity, by the Value of Lands, and consequently of their Revenues, which are the Product of them, falling at least two Thirds. Were our Clergy but sensible what Fruits their Brethren in *Denmark* and *Sweden* have gather’d from their Doctrines of Absolute Power and Non-Resistance, and that since those beloved Notions have obtain’d, an universal Poverty has spread it self over the face of those Countries, and the Lands out of which their Profits arise are in a great measure uncultivated, and they reduc’d to a starving Condition: were, I say, our Clergy sensible of this, they would think it their Interest to keep out the Pretender, in order to keep out Arbitrary Power.

Should he prevail, *Britain* would soon be made a Province to *France*; and then in what a condition will those Clergymen be, who in trading Towns are now so handsomly maintain’d by the voluntary Contributions of the People, when the *French* will no longer suffer us to work up our own Wool, but will entirely destroy all our Manufactures, seize on our Plantations, engross our Fishery, and all our beneficial Trade?

Those Clergymen who have any Interest in the Funds, are doubly concern’d to keep out the Pretender; since ’tis impossible that the Funds should be preserv’d if ever he prevails, as is plainly demonstrated in a late Pamphlet, entitled, *A short Account of the Spanish Juros*.

Some of our Clergymen may perhaps flatter themselves, that whatever Losses they may otherwise sustain will be sufficiently made up to them by the Restoration of the Church-Lands. But they will find themselves miserably deceiv'd in this point : for the Pope, and the Generals of those Orders which formerly flourish'd in *England*, will be at first for replacing in the Religious Houses old Monks and Fryars (who will be flocking hither from all parts) on pretence that they are acquainted with the Manners, Rules, and Orders of those Societies. And it can't be expected that the Pretender will oppose the preferring of old Catholicks, nay holy and religious Men, before those who were lately Hereticks, and must be thought in their Minds to be still so, tho he had not been brought up in the utmost Aversion to them. And as little will the *French* King, or any other Catholick Prince, interest himself in favour of our *English* Clergy, who will be so far from getting by such a Restitution of Church-Lands, that while none are Gainers, many will be great Losers. They who now enjoy such Deaneries and Prebends as are founded on the Revenues of those Lands, would be then depriv'd of their Preferments : And not a few Parish-Priests, who are maintain'd by officiating in such places as were formerly supply'd by the Monasteries, will by this means lose their All.

Besides, 'tis very likely that the Jesuits, who have no pretence to any of the old Abbey-Lands, and who above all other Orders are thought necessary for the Support of the Papal Authority, will be provided for at the cost of the Secular Clergy.

Nay, who knows but the Pope will at first be content that the Laity, at least the most considerable, should keep their Church-Lands, provided the Religious Houses might have an Equivalent out of the Revenues of the Secular Clergy ? And what Layman would not then be glad to make such a saving Bargain ?

But this is not the worst : Our Clergy, far from sharing in the Spoil, or enriching themselves with new Preferments, will not be allow'd to have any right to those they before enjoy'd. They will be thought to have sacrilegiously usurp'd the Priesthood, and qualify'd neither to keep, or to take any Preferments, except the Popish

Bishops will do 'em the Favour of admitting them into Holy Orders.

If the Papists will not allow Churches, after they have once been used by Hereticks, to be employ'd to Holy Purposes, till Heresy has been whip'd out of them, and they are a-new consecrated : can we suppose those who are all over polluted with the Filth of Heresy, and have profan'd those Churches by their impious Practices and damnable Doctrines, will be permitted to meddle with Holy Things, till they are purify'd by a long and severe Penance, and are hallow'd for the Ministry by having the Hands of Catholick Bishops laid on them ? Till then, *Procul hinc, procul ite Profani.*

Tho the Church of *Rome* do not well know how to disown the Orders of the *Greek* Church, without contradicting the Sentiments of their Predecessors, who for several Ages did not claim any Power over that Church ; yet they disallow the Orders of all such Churches, as were subject to them, and have deserted their Communion.

These they are so far from esteeming true Churches, that they look on them as a Band of Traitors combin'd together against the true Church ; and to have forfeited by their spiritual Rebellion all their Ecclesiastical Authority. Thus the Church of *England*, as well as all other Reform'd Churches, are reckon'd mere *Lay-Mobs*, without Priests or Bishops.

'Tis no wonder, if Papists treat Protestants after this manner, when Protestants treat one another so ; nay, too many outdo the Papists in Uncharitableness, and will not allow the Baptisms made by Protestant Dissenting Ministers to be valid : And the Nonjuring Priests say of the Clergy of the Church of *England*, who would not adhere to the depriv'd Bishops, * *That they are all out of the Church ; That they can perform no Acts of Priesthood that are of any force or virtue ; their Prayers are Sin, and their Sacraments Sacrilege.*

* See Dr. Hickes's 39 Propositions, publish'd by himself in part in his Preface to his Two Treatises, p. 8. and in full, in the Character of a Primitive Bishop, p. 271.

In Queen *Mary's* Days the Papists, as Bishop *Burnet* tells us, ' Did not degrade the Priests they burned, that
' were ordain'd by the new Book of Ordination, sup-
' posing they had no true Orders by it * ; but even
' *Hooper* and *Ridley* were only degraded from their
' Priesthood, tho they had been ordain'd Bishops by their
' own Forms, saving the Oath to the Pope." And if
Ordinations made by Popes were, as that excellent Au-
thor † assures us, upon the account of their Irregular-
ity declared to be void by the succeeding Popes, it
can't be suppos'd that the Popes will esteem those Orders
more regular, which were not only made by a Form
they think insufficient, but by Men who they believ'd
cou'd have nothing to do in the Church, being cut off
from it by Schism, by Heresy, by Excommunication.—
And it wou'd be very strange, if any Pope should now
allow those for Governors or Ministers of the Church,
whom his Predecessors for more than a Century, have
not esteem'd as Members of it.

'Tis notorious, that from Queen *Elizabeth's* days the
Papists have deny'd the Validity of our Ordinations on
more accounts than one; and would not, during her
Reign, or since, allow any of the many Church-men, who
have gone over to her, to exercise the Office of a Priest
without a new Ordination. And we can't doubt, tho
this Point were not already settled, that they would
determine it after this manner, when it was to exclude
new Converts, whom they believe to be in their Hearts
as much Hereticks as ever, from sharing with them the
Church-Preferments. None can question this, who con-
siders what Arts, what Methods have been generally ta-
ken by the different Parties, to engross to themselves the
Church-Preferments; and that this has too often made
them Enemies to all Comprehension, Accommodation,
Moderation, &c.

From the beginning of the Reformation to the Resto-
ration, Presbyterian Ordination was allow'd of and prac-

* History of the Reformation, Part 2. p. 290.

† Ibid.

tis'd in the Church of *England*, and several Bishops* were made of such as were never ordain'd Priests by Bishops; and the Validity of the Ordinations of foreign Protestant Churches was always allow'd of. Yet then Episcopal Ordination was made necessary, and they who were ordain'd by Presbyters (as Numbers were) cou'd not, without an Episcopal Ordination, keep their Places: and if such good and godly Men cou'd thus innovate, to the Unchurching of all the Protestants abroad, what may not be expected from such wicked and ungodly Men as the *Romish* Priests, tho this Point had not been long since settled?

The Popes allow the Bishops no Authority but what they derive from them, as Supreme Vicars of Christ; and can we think they will then compliment our Clergy so far as to give up this Supremacy, by owning the Acts of any Rebel Bishop to be valid? especially such as destroy the Monarchy of the Church and the Authority of its Supreme Head, and enable Traitors to perpetuate their Rebellion, by allowing, that they could bestow on others, involv'd in the same Guilt, a competent Power to perform all the Offices of true Church-Governors.

In most Countries, Converts, especially if Clergy-men are look'd on with a suspicious Eye, and are despis'd even by that Church to which they come over: But this is carry'd to so great a height in the *Romish* Church, that not only the Converts themselves, but their Descendants are for several Generations held in Disgrace; nor are they thought sufficiently pure till the tenth Descent, till then they are said to have so many *parts* of the Blood of an old Catholick in them: And therefore they who have been tainted with Heresy, (tho their Conversion should be thought sincere) will never be esteem'd pure enough to be employ'd in making or consecrating the Body of God, or in the sacred Office of Confessing, or in any other holy matter. Should any Heretick become a *David*, a Man after God's own Heart, yet that would not be thought sufficient to render him holy enough to be employ'd in building the House of God.

* State-Tracts in K. Charles's Reign, Vol. I. p. 50.

Most of the antient Canons think it favour' enough even at last to admit a Heretick to *Lay-Communion*: and tho some of the most favourable may allow, that after a very long Penance, and upon an extraordinary Occasion, Hereticks may be admitted into Orders; yet 'tis not such, who have sacrilegiously usurp'd the Priesthood, and have been excommunicated, and their Churches under an Interdict more than 100 Years: which the Papists assert to be the Case of the Church of *England*.

The Jesuits are the most noted for letting loose the Reins of Discipline: And Father *Parsons*, who was no stricter than the rest, can't forbear saying, (how much soever it might fright People from returning to the Church of *Rome*) 'That it may * be consider'd whether such known Hereticks and notorious Schismatics as shall return to the Union of the Catholick Church, should presently be admitted to come into our Churches; or whether some part of the old Ecclesiastical Canons should not be put in ure for their Restraining for a time: so as tho they may be reconcil'd, and absolv'd, and admitted to the Sacrament in private; yet for publick Satisfaction, they should not be admitted to enter into our Churches, but by little and little, and with Moderation, Humiliation, and other reverend Ceremonies appointed for that purpose."

And he further adds, 'That if such Care and Circumspection is to be us'd in admitting Hereticks to our material Churches, as in truth there ought to be; much more must be had in admitting them to be Priests and Ministers of the same, except it be upon long Probation and Satisfaction given, and in some rare Case, as all the World may see and confess: and whether it shall be fit at that day, to disable some great and able Hereticks and their Posterity, not only from the Priesthood and Ecclesiastical Dignity, but also from other Honours and Preferments, for warning and deterring of others." As it can't be presum'd, that this Jesuit writ this *Memorial* without the Approbation of the Superiors of that Order; so if the Jesuits, when they had no Power, de-

* Memorial for the Reform. of *England*, p. 141, 142.

clar'd they were for treating Converts after this manner, how will they be for using them, when Popery is brought in with a high hand, and they have the chief Direction of Affairs?

Should the Papists allow the Orders of the Church of *England* to be valid, the Wives of our Clergy (they being by the Canon Law incapable of marrying) would be look'd upon as Whores, and their Children as Bastards: But if they do not esteem their Orders to be valid, as in truth they do not, then their Marriages will be as good as other Lay-Mens; but that will be a perpetual bar to their being admitted into Holy Orders, and they and their Families must starve.

If this then be the Case, those certainly must act very impolitickly, who will not, to their utmost, oppose a Church which will, if it prevails, not only deprive the married Clergy of all their Preferments for ever; but others, till they have gone through a long Course of strict Penance: and even then it will depend on the Pleasure of the Pope, whether upon their Recantation and great Humiliation, they shall be admitted any further than to Lay-Communion. Or should they have so much favour as to obtain Orders, yet in the mean time their former Preferments will be dispos'd of; and they must be very sanguine to imagine, that they shall have Interest enough to get new ones: nay, this would be the same, tho their Orders should be allow'd to be good, because the Papists would never endure so scandalous a Neglect, or rather utter Prostitution of all Ecclesiastical Discipline, as to admit such Hereticks to exercise the holy Priesthood, till they had by a long Penance expiated their Guilt. If this will not open the Eyes of some Men, and prevail on them to throw off a fatal Neutrality, and no longer to halt between *God* and *Baal*, 'tis to be fear'd nothing will.

But some perhaps may delude themselves into an Opinion, that the Pretender will be oblig'd in Interest to gratify the Church of *England* in whatever they desire, provided they will but readily come into Popery, because of their great Influence over the People.

But as this great influence is wholly owing to the Opinion they have of the Clergy's being in earnest for
the

the Church of *England*, in opposition to Popery, as well as Presbytery; so when the contrary appears, they will quickly lose that Influence: nay, the unexpressible Miseries that the Nation will then suffer, will make them abhor and detest those, who, instead of alarming the People with the great Danger they were in, not only lull'd them into a fatal Security, but made them instrumental in bringing about their own Ruin. And when they perceive how their good Nature has been abus'd, and their simple Credulity impos'd on by scandalous misrepresentations, which made them hate their best Friends, (whose Interest was inseparable from theirs) and court their only Enemies, they will be ready to sacrifice all such Men to their just Resentments, as most perfidious and most vile Apostates; tho before they reverenc'd 'em as most sincere Protestants, and most zealous Champions of the Church of *England*: Then the Papists will be so far from having any reason to care for them on the account of their Influence with the People, that they will find they can't oblige them more than by using them as ill as possible.

Tho the *Americans* have been Christians for several Generations, yet the old *Spanish* Priests treat such of them as are in Orders, with extreme Insolence and Scorn, as judging them not pure enough to be employ'd in so * holy an Office. And can it be suppos'd, that the old Popish Priests would not use those after the same manner, who still smell rank of Heresy, tho they should be admitted into Orders? and make the old Popish Laity, whom they can influence as they please, to treat them with the utmost Scorn; while the new Converts, who are still Protestants in their Hearts, will think they can't detest them too much; and neither old or new Papists will employ them in Confessions, praying their Friends out of Purgatory, or any other gainful Business.

If the Popish Priests in King *James's* Reign wou'd run the risque of having Popery miscarry, rather than let him shew any kindness to the Clergy of the Church of

* See Gage's Survey of the *West-Indies*.

England; can we suppose they will not as much prejudice the Pretender, and make him treat them with the utmost rigour, when there's no Danger of having his Designs miscarry?

They, who in favour of the Pretender, have preach'd up such Doctrines as were inconsistent with all their Oaths; and who, tho in their Prayers they own'd the Princess *Sophia*, yet in their Sermons destroy'd her Title; and who to divert the People from seeing their great Danger, not only ridicul'd the fears of Popery, but represented the Presbyterians (tho since the Toleration, that Sect is almost dwindled to nothing) as ready to seize on the Churches, and make every one, not excepting the Bishops themselves, who were for the Principles on which the Revolution was built, and took the Oaths with a good Conscience, to be errant Presbyterians: They, I say, no doubt will expect to be treated very favourably by the Pretender. But as they would be most hated by the People, so the old Popish Priests, who would be glad of an Opportunity to hinder any of the new Converts from sharing the Preferments, would cry they have so grossly prevaricated with their Consciences, that it would be a Reproach to any Church to prefer them; and that it was the business of the Church of *Rome* to free Men from *atheistical*, as well as *heretical* Teachers.

But notwithstanding all this, some perhaps may persuade themselves that they must be continu'd in their employs, since there would not be otherwise enough to supply the Churches. But our Clergy may assure themselves, that those Preferments which do not require the speaking of English, or can be executed by a Deputy, will not fall to their share: And for others, since 'tis notorious, that the Papists have for more than these three last Years, flatter'd themselves that a Turn e're long will happen in their favour; it can't be doubted but there are a sufficient Number qualifying themselves for those Places, by learning of English.

Dr. *Sacheverell* in his famous Sermon preach'd before my Lord Mayor, Nov. 1709. owns, * *That the Roman*

Catholick Agents and Missionaries swarm about this great City, and debauch the Subjects in every Corner. And the Representation of both Houses of Convocation*, made the Winter afterwards, says, *That of late Years the Popish Emissaries have swarm'd in our Streets, and have been very busy in making Converts.* And if there were at that time such Swarms, there can be no doubt but the Popish Labourers increase in proportion to their Harvest; at least that there will be enough of such as will travel from place to place, to perform what Popery esteems the most essential part of the Office of a Priest: and there are several things, as saying of Mass, singing in the Quires, and such-like, which do not require speaking of *English*. And 'tis likely they will be content that some Churches may for a while be without constant Preaching (a thing which the Papists do not at any time much regard) rather than make such Priests, who continued Hereticks as long as it was their Interest to be so.

Those Clergymen who imagine that upon a Turn there will be such a Scarcity of Popish Priests, that they must be employ'd, do not consider that a great many old Catholics will be then tempted to go into Orders; and that there will be a considerable number of Lay-Converts, who being reduc'd to the utmost Straits, will be glad to take Sanctuary at the Altar: so that the Papists will not be under a necessity to employ such as have made themselves obnoxious to the People, and against whom (as it has been already shewn) they have other Exceptions; and if after all, any of these should be employ'd, they would be made, like the *Gibeonites, Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water* only.

The Church of *Rome*, whatever fine Promises she may now make, if ever she gets the Clergy of the Church of *England* in her power, will visit the *Iniquities of the Fathers on the Children*, and severely reckon with the present Clergy for the Crimes of their Heretical Predecessors: she, whose very Mercies are cruel, will not scruple to put the most barbarous things in practice, even on

* Pag. 16, & 26. *Quart. Ed.*

those who may have deserv'd well of her, if it deters others from deserting her Communion.

In *Sweden*, when that Nation were all Catholicks, most of the Lay-Senators, and all the Ecclesiastical * except one, and ninety Lords, with a great many others, were murder'd, on pretence of being excommunicated, for presuming to depose a Rebel Bishop: and there will never be wanting, in a Church which scorns to proceed by any other methods but of Terror, a King *Christiern* ready to execute all such bloody Purposes. So that if Popery prevails, our Clergy, in spite of all the Compliance they can shew, will run no small risque of being treated after the same manner.

If Men suffer for their Religion and Country, they may find some Comfort in their Afflictions; but if they sacrifice these to their Interest, and yet so far mistake that, as to bring Ruin on themselves, there's nothing then that can support 'em under their Anguish. And this certainly will be the Case of all those Clergymen, who flatter themselves they shall be Gainers if the Pretender and Popery prevail.

The F—— K——, tho the Face of Authority may for some time be in the Pretender, will have the real Power and Disposal of what Ecclesiastical Preferments he pleases; and how the *English* Converts will fare, may be guess'd at by the Treatment the new Converts in *France* meet with; and when, in the bestowing of Ecclesiastical Promotions, he prefers any of the *Hugonot* Ministers, who by his means have been converted, then the *English* converted Clergy may expect the same Favours.

The Pope, who still claims the same Power he formerly enjoy'd in *England* (and none of the Church's Rights are destroy'd by Time) will have a great share in the disposing of the Preferments; and those he will not only be for bestowing on his *Italian* Creatures, and other Aliens, but make the Clergy who reside on the spot help to maintain his foreign Ministers. This in the time of Popery we knew not how to prevent, tho it occasion'd vast

* History of the Revolutions in *Sweden*, p. 108, &c.

Sumsto be sent abroad, to the infinite prejudice of the Kingdom.

In the Reign of *Edward III.* as my Author observes, notwithstanding that Prince had reviv'd the Statute of *Carlisle*, which prohibited the Clergy from conveying Treasure beyond Sea, the Pope grants 10000 Marks (a prodigious Sum in those days) yearly out of the Taxes laid on the Church-Livings, to two Cardinals *; neither of which did, or by the Canon could live in *England*; and the Treasureship of *York* to another Cardinal, tho the King had confer'd the same elsewhere. And tho many repeated Provocations caus'd the Parliament to make sharp Laws against *Rome*, and the King seiz'd on all the Livings given by the Popes to Aliens; yet the Laws are laid aside, and above sixty Church-Livings more are suddenly catch'd and given to the Favourites of *Rome*. And if the Pope could act then after this manner, what will he not do, when the Pretender prevails, who is so much devoted to his See, and has receiv'd such great Obligations from him?

The Pretender, considering the Obligations he and his Family lie under to a great number of foreign Priests, who must be repay'd with *English* Benefices, and how much he will be solicited for others by Persons to whom he can't well deny any thing; will scarce have Preferments left, even to reward those *Nonjuring Priests* who have been so long Confessors for his sake: so that those who have so long oppos'd his Interest, and so often abjur'd him (tho we should suppose him so easy as to forgive them) would yet upon this account find it impossible even to keep those Preferments they now enjoy.

Should the Designs of the Pretender take place, the Abbot *Polignac*, whom the Pope upon his Recommendation has made a Cardinal, will in all likelihood be the Person appointed to exercise a *Legantine* Power here: and then what can our present Clergy expect from so cunning a *Frenchman*, at the head of Ecclesiastical Affairs; who both as Abbot and Cardinal is the Pope's Creature, and consequently an Enemy to the *Secular Clergy*?

* *Bacon* of the Government of *England*, part 2. p. 58, 59.

In *Ireland* there is not only a Popish Bishop constantly nominated for every See, but a Popish Priest likewise for every Living, as fast as they become vacant; and consequently not one of the Protestant Bishops and Clergy, tho they should all turn Papists, will be able to keep his Preferment: nay, 'tis well if any of them can escape with Life, considering the implacable Hatred the *Irish* bear to the *English*, none of whom could preserve themselves in the *Irish* Massacre, tho several would have become Papists. It would be the Interest of the *Irish* Priests, and no doubt they would then use their utmost endeavours to engage the Natives (whom they can influence as they please) to murder all the Protestant Clergy, lest they should be suffer'd to keep any of their Preferments either in whole or part.

'Tis generally said, that the same method has been observ'd in regard to *England* ever since the Abdication of King *James*, and that some from abroad have not only been appointed for the vacant Sees, but for all the other Ecclesiastical Preferments belonging to the Crown: And if so, upon a Turn, the present Possessors cannot hope to keep their Preferments. But whether this be so or no, and even tho Popery should not be re-establish'd, yet it will be thought too great a Compliment to the *Revolution*, to allow those who have been promoted since, to have a good Title to their Preferments.

Could the Papists ever forgive the Protestants, or did they not delight in their Blood, they would have spared the Life of Archbishop *Cranmer* when they had prevail'd on him to recant, and would have made him as instrumental in pulling down the Reformation, as he was in building it up. But neither this Consideration, nor the Promise that they had made him both of * Life and Preferment, nor his saving Queen *Mary* in her Father's † Reign (when none but he durst interceed in her behalf) were sufficient to preserve him from the Fire. And surely as none of our present Clergy have deserv'd more

* History of the Reform, part 2. p. 333.

† Ibid. p. 241.

Favour from the Pretender, so it would be ridiculous for any of them to expect it.

Cardinal *Poole* thought it indecent * to be consecrated Archbishop while *Cranmer* was alive, and therefore defer'd the Ceremony till the day after he was burnt; and no doubt, if Popery prevails again, many will affect the same Decency, and not take possession of their Preferments till their recanting Predecessors have made their *Exit* at a Stake.

And now I think that the beneficed Clergy may be convinc'd from what I have here offer'd to their Consideration, that they will not only lose all their Preferments, but be reduc'd to the lowest State of Beggary, attended with Infamy, if ever they suffer Popery to prevail. But lest those who are not yet prefer'd in the World, but live on their Fellowships, and what they get by instructing the Youth in the Universitys, should hope for better Usage, I shall shew how they too must expect to be treated.

'Tis notorious, that for the most part the Child governs the Man, and that the Prejudices of Education are insuperable; and therefore no doubt the Care of instructing our Youth, and instilling into their Minds (easily capable of any Impression) such as will be then til'd good Principles, will be intrusted to none but old franch Catholicks; who will be most willing, as well as most able, to infuse into the Youth a right Papal Orthodoxy. And 'tis highly probable, that a matter of this consequence will be committed to the Jesuits, who chiefly owe their prodigious Greatness to their having in a manner engross'd the teaching of the Popish Youth. And that restless Body will never be satisfy'd, till they have gain'd the like Advantage in *England*. And no doubt they will easily obtain it, since they are so powerful a Society, that the greatest Princes dare not disoblige 'em, and the Pope himself thinks it prudent to dissemble the high Affront they have lately put upon him, in the Person of his Minister Cardinal *Tournon*, in *China*.

* History of the Reformation, part 2. p. 340.

And as they will certainly have the greatest Influence on those who will (if Popery prevails) have the disposal of every thing here; so a great many out of Fear or Interest, will put their Children under their Management; and others, when this becomes a Fashion, will do it, if only for that reason.

And this is the more to be fear'd, since a great many are so prejudic'd, that they send their Children to the Universities, not for any Improvement they expect they shall meet with, either as to their Morals or Understanding; but (when 'tis not to take Degrees) because 'tis the Fashion, and they do not know what else to do with them: they to be sure will be trying whether their Children may not be better educated under the Care of the Jesuits, who are celebrated over *Europe* for the great Pains they take, and the great Skill they have gain'd in the Art of instructing the Youth.

Should this be so, as if the *Pretender* prevails, in all likelihood it must; can we think, that the *Jesuits* would be so wanting to themselves, as not to endeavour to have some of the best Colleges given them for the propagating so useful a Work? Nay it is probable, considering what great Politicians they are, that they would by degrees get both Universities to themselves. The old Papists would not be against it, and the new forc'd Papists would not be displeas'd to see some Men, who made so ill a use of the Privilege of instructing Youth, turn'd out into the wide World, and left to starve or beg: As the Fellows of *Magdalen College* were by the Commissioners of King *James*, who not only depriv'd them of their Fellowships, but declar'd them incapable of being receiv'd into any Ecclesiastical Dignity, Benefice, or Promotion; and such as then were not in Orders, were made incapable of entering into them. And can these Gentlemen think, that the pretended *James the Third* will not execute the Menaces of *James the Second*?

Parsons the Jesuit says, * 'After so universal a Flood of Enormities has over-whelm'd all, it will be for this respect needful, that not only all Interest to Headships

* Memorial of the Reformation of *England*, p. 168.

‘ of Houses, but Fellowships and Scholarships, and all
 ‘ other Offices of particular Colleges, as well as of
 ‘ the Universities in general, be made void, and new
 ‘ Men planted and plac’d again upon Choice, as they
 ‘ shall be thought fit for the Reformation.’ And there
 can be no little doubt but that they, who in order to
 this perfect Reformation, are to be trusted with regula-
 ting the Universities, will either think these Reasons suf-
 ficient, or else find others as good for vacating all the
 Headships and Fellowships, that they may (after having
 provided for those that are in the *English* Seminaries a-
 broad) either sell the rest, or gratify their Friends and
 Dependants with them.

The same Father *Paysons* makes the Reformation to
 be owing * to a misunderstanding between the Clergy
 and Laity; and says, ‘ That the Emulation and Breach
 ‘ between the two Orders of Spiritual and Temporal
 ‘ Men in *England*, kindled and set on foot by the Devil
 ‘ and wicked Men, has been the principal Cause of the
 ‘ ruin both to Country, and both Parts that were
 ‘ Catholicks in times past; and that they who set Divi-
 ‘ sions between these two States, are the very Instruments
 ‘ of *Satan*; such as are the Hereticks, Politicks, Atheists,
 ‘ and other seditious People of our Days.’ And so far
 this Jesuit was in the right, that in the beginning of *Queen*
Elizabeth’s Reign, when the Reformation was brought
 about, the People, by reason of the Clergy’s (a very
 few only excepted) complying with all the Changes
 made in Religion in the time of King *Henry* the Eighth,
 King *Edward* the Sixth, and *Queen Mary*, had a very
 mean Opinion of them: and several of *Queen Eliza-*
beth’s Injunctions shew it; particularly, that which † re-
 strains Clergy-men from *marrying any Maid-Servant,*
without the Consent of her Master and Mistress. And
 what Opinion the Government had of them, is plain
 from the Queen’s Proclamation, to forbid all Preaching;
 which says, ‘ That since || from preaching there ariseth

* *Ibid.* p. 200, 201.

† Injunction 29.

|| Appendix to *Strype’s Annals.*

‘ among the common sort of People, not only unfruitful Disputes in Matters of Religion, but also Contention and Occasion to break common Quiet ; her Majesty has for the good Government of her Subjects, thought it necessary to charge and command all her Subjects, as well Clergy as Laity, that they forbear to teach, or preach, or give Audience to any manner of Doctrine, or Preaching : her Majesty desiring by all means possible, to procure and restore Virtue and Godliness, with universal Charity and Concord to this Realm.’ And Men had then so contemptible an Opinion of University-Learning, that the Universities were in a manner destitute, the † publick Schools being turned into private Garden-Plots.

I hope there will never be occasion to lay this Charge to our present Clergy ; but that they will cultivate the Arts of Peace, and endeavour to promote universal Charity and Concord amongst Protestants, since ’twas never more necessary than at present ; that so it may never be said hereafter, that at a time when the Clergy were in so high and universal an Esteem, and the Universities so wonderfully flourish’d, Popery gain’d ground, and all those fatal Mischiefs happen’d ; to prevent which, that famous *Protestant Queen* forbad all Preaching.

Shou’d the Clergy, by preaching up such Doctrines as make for the Pretender’s Interest, engage the Nation in a Civil War ; tho he should succeed, they would (as has been shown) be undone ; but if he should not, they may be sure that an inrag’d People would take effectual Care, that they who betray’d their Religion and Liberties, should never again be in a Condition to act the same part : So that nothing can be plainer, than that the Clergy have no way to secure themselves, but by persevering stedfastly in the Interest of their Country, and joining heartily with all those who are for securing the Succession in the House of *Hannover* ; and consequently, against such a fatal Treaty of Commerce as would in

† Dr. *Langbain*’s Preface to *Cheek*’s true Subject, to the Rebel.

a very little time put *France* in a Capacity to impose the Pretender on us, and render us unable to resist him.

And would the Clergy pursue their true Interest with that Bravery as they ought, the Creatures of the *French King* and the *Pretender*, how insolent soever they may appear at present, would quickly despair of Success.

It would be the highest Folly in the Clergy, in hopes of mending their Condition under the *Pretender*, to run the risque of losing those Privileges they now enjoy, and which their Ancestors never knew; when they were oblig'd to pay the Pope their First-Fruits and Tenth, which his griping Officers exacted from the meanest of them, to the full Value of their Livings: Whereas her Majesty, for their better Support, has most generously parted with this great Branch of her Supremacy. Nor is this the greatest Favour they have receiv'd; even the Statute of *Mortmain* is repeal'd for their sakes; a Statute enacted in the darkest Times of Popery, notwithstanding the great opposition of the Clergy, and which their frequent Efforts could never get repeal'd.

Under Popery, the Clergy had no Votes in chusing Members of Parliament; a Privilege which they have obtain'd but since the Restoration. But Popery will never suffer the secular Clergy to enjoy so great an Advantage, in which the Regulars, as having their Lands in common, can never share: and the Popes, who have always been jealous of the secular Clergy, will wholly confine them to Ecclesiastical Matters.

The Lower House of Convocation, in the Times of Popery, were intirely subject to the Upper, who to ingratiate themselves at Court, made the former (who then tax'd themselves) lay most heavy Impositions on their Body: So that the Parliament's taking this Power out of their hands, has turn'd very much to their Advantage. And Popery, no doubt, will oblige the Lower-House of Convocation, which now makes so great a Figure in our Ecclesiastical Constitution, to quit all their Pretences to a co-ordinate Power with the Upper, and all those other Privileges they now enjoy; since these are not allow'd to mere Presbyters in any Popish Coun-

try whatever: The most they can expect is, to wait on the Upper House, and give them their Opinion when they vouchsafe to ask it.

The Clergy have so great a power over the Nation (much greater than they themselves, till of late, imagin'd) that there's nothing they have reason to despair of obtaining under a Protestant Government, which must be oblig'd to court and caress them at any rate, as long as they can keep up such an Interest with the People. And will they quit so fair a Prospect, by putting themselves into the hands of Men, who mortally hate them, and who were never work'd on by any Submissions to forgive the least Injuries?

The Non-juring Priests, to bring the Clergy of the Church of *England* into their Measures, assert (as is plain from all their Writings, particularly from *Hickes's* 39 Propositions) that there's a much more extensive Supremacy than either Popes or Kings claim, which by Divine Right belongs to them: But then they insinuate, that the way to obtain this Supremacy, exclusively both of Popes and Kings, is to be for the Pretender.

Can any thing be more absurd than to suppose, that the way to prevent a Papal Supremacy, is to bring in a bigotted Papist, extremely devoted to, and oblig'd by the See of *Rome*; or that the foreign Powers, by whose Assistance he expects to be restor'd, will be for allowing Subjects a larger Supremacy than what the Popes pretend to, and which is intirely inconsistent with their own *Regale*? They know that the Pope, by living at a distance, and by their hindring his Legates, or his Bulls from getting into their Territories, is not so well able to carry on his Designs, as the Popish Bishops, who are always on the spot; and therefore they are more jealous of them: And they would have more reason to be so, if they claim'd as much power as the Non-juring Clergy bestow on all Bishops.

In times of Popery, our Kings nominated to Bishopricks and other Ecclesiastical Preferments; and *Lay-Patrons* presented to the Churches they had endow'd: Nay, our Parliaments, when there were several Pretenders to the Popedom, took upon them to determine who should be the

the national Pope. But for the Laity to claim such Privileges, is by these Priests represented as highly sacrilegious; nay *Lesley* says 'tis downright Popery for our Kings * to pretend to nominate Bishops: And for this, amongst other Grievances, he complains, † *That the Western Church, like her Master, was crucify'd between the Usurpations of the Pontificate on the one hand, and the Regale on the other; and no choice left, but who should be its Executioner.* And can it be suppos'd, that the Pretender will give up those Powers to the Clergy, which our Popish Kings were allow'd to exercise; or that our Gentry and Nobility will not endeavour to maintain those Privileges which their Ancestors enjoy'd even under a most rampant Popery? The Non-juring Clergy pretend, that 'tis intirely owing to them, that the Ecclesiastical Policy is so well understood; and particularly the Regal Supremacy of the Bishops: a Notion which by their means they think has so obtain'd, that the Gates of Hell can't prevail against it. And will these very Men at last do what the Gates of Hell cannot, and destroy this Ecclesiastical Policy themselves, by bringing in the Pretender, and consequently a Papal Supremacy; a Yoke which our Forefathers, even in the darkeſt Ages of Popery, could not bear with Patience? And can they think that the Church of *England*, which is at present so considerable, and has so great an Influence over all other Protestant Churches, will be content to come in at the Tail of Popery, and be made an Appendix to the Church of *Rome*? By which she would be just as much a Gainer, as the Nation would be by becoming a Province to *France*, instead of being at the head of the Allies.

The apprehension of such a Change as this, the Non-jurors well perceive, tends to deter the Clergy from coming into their Measures; and therefore they do all they can to remove this stumbling-block out of the way.

The chief Design of *Lesley's* Case of the Regale, &c. was to persuade the Clergy (in order to remove any

* Case of the Regale, p. 103.

† *Ibid.* 161.

Prejudices that might obstruct the coming of the Pretender) that the Popish Bishops are willing to drop the Dispute with the Church of *England*, and join heartily with our Bishops to throw off both the Papal and Regal Supremacy, and to govern the Church themselves. And this he * pretends is so easy a matter, that it may be done at any time by particular Bishops.

But tho the Popish Bishops did not believe the Points in dispute between them and us to be essential, nor damn us as Hereticks for disowning them ; tho they were not irreversibly ty'd down by the Decrees of their General Councils ; tho they esteem'd our Bishops as true Bishops, and tho they both were ready to join in this Design, yet would it be wholly impracticable.

The Bishops indeed, when they were assembled in General Councils, to heal the Schisms that the several Pretenders at the same time to the Popedom had caus'd, carry'd their Authority high, and claim'd a Superiority over the Pope. But since all Quarrels about the Popedom are at an end, and there are no more General Councils, all Attempts of particular Bishops to overthrow the Papal Authority must necessarily end in their own Destruction. Nay, the Bishops, even at the Council of *Trent*, were so far from being able to free themselves from the Papal Yoke, that they durst not declare Bishops to be *Jure Divino*, for fear such Declaration might seem to interfere with his Holiness's universal Supremacy : and since that time his Power is much enlarg'd, by the Increase of the Regulars both in Number and Riches ; and more especially by the wonderful Growth of the Jesuits, an Order but then newly founded, and who have now perhaps as much Interest as all the Bishops of the *Romish* Church.

As the Regulars have engross'd the Business of Confessions, and got the entire Management of the Inquisition (which governs absolutely wherever it is establish'd) the Papal Authority is by this means very much supported. And if the Bishops of the *Romish* Commu-

nion are (as *Lesley* himself says) ' kept * under the Usurpation of the Papal Supremacy, for fear of falling more ' absolutely under the power of the *Regale*, which by ' the Artifices of the Popes is kept over their heads, that ' they might not think of steering from *Scylla* for fear of ' falling into *Charybdis* : And † that many pious Men in ' the Church of *Rome*, who wish for a Reformation, ' dare not push it on for fear of falling in with the *Regale* *Erafricanism* : ' He can never believe himself, what he endeavours to persuade others, that the Popish Bishops are willing to get rid of the *Pontificate*, or able to throw off that and the *Regale*. No! this Gentleman is too well acquainted with Popery, to think there may be a Union with the *Romish* Church without acknowledging the Pope's Supremacy, and submitting to all the other Doctrines which were establish'd by the Council of *Trent*.

'Tis impossible that the Papal Supremacy can be overthrown by any Method but that which was taken by *Henry VIII.* and *that*, according to our Author, would be only steering from *Scylla* to fall into *Charybdis*. And that even then had not been practicable, if the People had not been well inclin'd. The Bills that the Commons in the Reigns of *Henry IV.*, *V.*, and *VI.* brought in for giving the Revenues of the Clergy to the Publick, was a shrewd Symptom of their Disposition. But the Aversion that the People in all Popish Countries are now bred up with to Protestantism, hinders them from having any such Inclination : and tho Popish Princes may sometimes have disputes with the Head of their Church, yet in the long run the Pope gets the better.

But tho this Author pretends to be against the Pope's Authority, and any Appeals to him, or his confirming of Bishops, yet he is not only for giving him a Patriarchal || Authority, which takes in both these ; but for allowing him the same Supremacy as the *Gallican* Church does, *viz.*

* Case of the *Regale*, *Ed.* 2. p. 150.

† *Ibid.* p. 162.

|| Pag. 261.

That * the Primacy of St. Peter, and of the Bishops of Rome, was instituted by Christ, and that Obedience was due to them from all Christians ; and that the Majesty of the Apostolical See is venerable to all Nations, in which the Faith of Christ is preach'd, and the Unity of the Church preserv'd. If after this the Clergy do not see the Snake in the Grass, they are as blind as he takes them to be.

'Tis strange, methinks, that any one of the Clergy should be impos'd on by such Men, who rail bitterly against our Reformers and the Reformation, and are not only daily advancing Popish Doctrines, but whilst they allow the Church of Rome to be a true Church, at the same time say, † That our Clergy are all out of the Church, and that they can perform no Acts of Priesthood of any force or virtue, either from God towards Men, or from Men towards God. God (say they) ratifies nothing in Heaven, which they act in his name on Earth. In short, (according to these Men) The Prayers of such Bishops are Sin, and their Sacraments Sacrilege ; and tho they or any that adhere to them should die Martyrs in their Schism, their Martyrdom would not be accepted of God.

It can't be suppos'd that these are the Bishops with which the Church of Rome is to unite, or that 'tis for their sake that *Hickes* says, ' That there are in this Kingdom many unchristian Maxims prejudicial to the Character of the Episcopal College of our High Priests, ' extremely hurtful to the Church, and detrimental to ' the Christian Religion ; as, That the Right of presenting Clerks to Cures is a Lay-Fee ; That Tythes may ' be Lay-Fees ; That Canons made by the Church Regent or Episcopal College, oblige not Christians in ' Conscience against the King's Consent, or ought not to ' be receiv'd as Spiritual Laws of the Church without ' his leave ; That Kings, tho Subjects of the Church, ' may not be excommunicated ; That Kings, by Act of ' Parliament, may deprive Bishops ; That they are the ' last Appeal of our Church in spiritual Causes ; and the

* Pag. 271.

† *Hickes's* Propositions, Prop. 39.

' unchristian Acts of Parliament touching the Election
 ' and Consecrations of Bishops, &c. which, says he, I
 ' think I am able to shew, have been the natural as well
 ' as the judicial Causes of all the Miseries in Church and
 ' State among us for many Years, and of the great Atheism,
 ' Deism, Contempt of the Royal Priesthood it
 ' self; together with all the Heresies, Schisms, Immor-
 ' ralities, and Height of Profaneness that now overflow
 ' the Land. And I could give other Instances of un-
 ' christian Maxims and unrighteous Laws, Usurpations
 ' which have almost quite destroy'd the Power and Au-
 ' thority of the Episcopal College, and the Discipline of
 ' the Catholick Church of *England*.——Her own Sons
 ' have made her a Slave, to the great Decay of Christian
 ' Faith, and the great Contempt of Christ.'

When this Author writ with another View, then he calls
 these Popish and damnable * Positions; ' That the King
 ' may be excommunicated; That the Church in Eccle-
 ' siasticals has a power to make Laws without the King;
 ' That the King has no power to ordain a Fast or Festival;
 ' That the King has no power to silence or deprive any
 ' Minister; That the Oath of Supremacy is destructive
 ' of Christ's Supremacy.' And if the Pretender prevails,
 then no doubt it will be a damnable Position to affirm,
 That the Pope is not the Supreme Head of the Church;
 and then all the Atheism, Deism, Heresy, Immorality,
 &c. among the Protestants, shall be owing to Peoples
 not adhering to the See of *Rome* as the Center of Unity,
 by which alone the Faith and Peace of the Church can
 be preserv'd.

The other great † Champion of the *Jacobite* Cause shall
 at one time tell you, 'Tis an *Impossibility and Contradiction*
that any King should have Authority over the Church
within their Dominions in Ecclesiastical Matters; the
plain Consequence of this must be to root out all Religion:
 and || commends a *Welsh* Bishop for excommunicating three

* Sermon before my Lord Mayor, Jan. 30. 168 $\frac{1}{2}$.

† Case of the Regale, p. 122. Ed. 2.

|| Ibid. p. 103.

Kings one after another, and putting them under severe Penances before he would restore them to the Church: But at another time he shall say, *The English Protestant Bishops and Clergy, as becometh good Christians* ¹ *and good Subjects, pretend to no Jurisdiction over the Kings of England, but acknowledg them to have Sovereign Power over them in all Matters Ecclesiastical. The Sectaries deny the King's Supremacy, the Presbyterians claiming a Power even to excommunicate Kings.*

If the Clergy should confide in such Men as these, they would quickly be brought into a Fool's Paradise; in order to which they bestow on them the grossest Flatteries, and talk more extravagantly of the Powers and Privileges of the Clergy, than the Papists themselves.

So that if the Church of *England* was to be destroy'd and the Dispute was, Whether a *Roman*, or, if I may so call it, an *Hickzean* or *Lesleyan* Popery should take place; those who were for the first would say, theirs was the easier Yoke: because tho they were for paying the highest Honour to the Vicar of Christ, yet they were not for honouring every Bishop as God ²; or saying, that judging of a Bishop is judging of ³ God; or that nothing ought to be done in the Church, not even ⁴ Marriages, made without the Bishop's Consent; and that no things are excepted from ⁵ the Power of the Church: much less would they be for paying so high a Veneration to a Chaplain, as to say, my ⁶ Chaplain, as I say, my King, my God; or being against Kings themselves keeping more Chaplains ⁷ than one, because no Man can serve two Masters; or for saying, that the Office of a King was an Office of Service

¹ Wolf strip'd, *Part 2.* p. 10. by one call'd an High-Church-Man.

² *Hickes's two Treatises*, p. 201.

³ *Ibid.* p. 214.

⁴ *Case of the Regale*, p. 3. *Ed.* 2.

⁵ Wolf strip'd, *Part 2.* p. 33.

⁶ *Case of the Regale*, *Ed.* 2. p. 182.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 188.

and most profound Reverence, the King being the Church's ' Nurse's Husband; or that Kings and Queens should ' bow with their Faces towards the Earth, and lick up the Dust off the Feet of the Priest: or that the People ought to administer more liberally to a Priest than to a King ' ; or that he is worthy of a greater Punishment, who moves ' his Eye against the former than the latter; that a Bishop even out of the Church ought to take place of all the Royal Family, except the King ' ; and in the Church, of the King ' himself.

As the Pope will never forgive those who are for bestowing the highest Honours on every Priest, and exalting them to a level with himself, so nothing can be more chimerical than to imagine, that the Pretender would be for this *Hickzean* Popery, and establish here a College of High and Royal Priests, in opposition to the Papal Authority. Our Clergy then, instead of enjoying such mighty Privileges as these Men flatter them with, would in all probability be sent to do Penance for Life in the Mines or Gallies.

It's the highest Affront to the Clergy of the Church of *England*, to think so to impose on their Understanding, as to make them believe, the Pretender may be brought in, and yet the Papal Supremacy kept out, and no more of Popery admitted than is just for their turn.

That our Protestant Clergy may be the better guarded against the Designs of the *Jacobites*, I shall make a few Remarks on their Conduct, and then conclude.

They, on one hand, will not allow those Protestants who have no Bishops, to be Christians; because they say, there are none among them capable of administering true Baptism; in order to divide Protestants among themselves, and render odious those Protestant

' Case of the Regale, p. 31. Ed. 2.

" Ibid. p. 46.

3 Two Treatises, p. 201.

4 Ibid.

5 Case of the Regale, p. 221. Ed. 2.

6 Two Treatises, p. 224.

Princes, on whom the Crown, by Act of Parliament, is entail'd : On the other hand, they commend and extol the *Gallican* Church, in which the Pretender is educated. The Oracle of the Jacobites, *Lesley*, says, *If they keep as clear of the * Regale* (as he supposes they have of the Pontificate) *their Reformation will exceed ours* : 'The *English* and *Gallican* Churches are nearer one another upon this Point of the Supremacy, than the Churches of *France* and *Rome* ; and why then should not we rather † take part with one another against *Rome*, than by our differences in other and *smaller* Matters, to let him triumph over us both in his Supremacy ?' And yet these Men talk'd otherwise when they had not the Pretender in view ; both with relation to foreign Protestant Churches, and the Popish *French* Church. Dr. *Hickes*, for instance, when he was a Protestant of the Church of *England*, does justice to both of them, in saying, 'They are the most noble, essential, || and integral Parts of Christianity, which the *French* Protestants adhere to ; and 'tis not so much a Christian, as a *Pagano-Christian*, a most corrupt, tyrannical, and idolatrous Church, to which they refuse to conform. As *Rome* is mystical *Babylon* the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth ; so the *Gallican* Church is a Province belonging to the Mystical *Babylon*, a Daughter of that Mother of Harlots, full of Fornication, and also drunk with the Blood of the Saints. The Gospel teaches ||| there is but one Mediator between God and Man ; but the *Gallican* Church prays to Saints and Angels to make Intercession for them : so that if her Prayers were in the Mother Tongue, the People could not join in her Worship without committing Idolatry against God, and Blasphemy against Christ ; who by one Offering of himself, perfected for ever them that are sanctified. But the *Gal-*

* *Case of the Regale*, p. 265. *Ed.* 2.

† *Ibid.* p. 263.

|| *Serm. entitled, The true Notion of Persecution stated, preach'd 1681.* p. 25.

||| *Pag.* 22.

' *lican*, like all other Popish Churches, teaches, that he
' is bodily present, and bodily offer'd up in the Sacrifice
' of the Mass, and that his real Flesh is eaten, and that
' the great Wafer is the very Christ. What shall I say
' of the abominable Doctrines of *Supremacy*, *Infallibility*,
' and *Purgatory*, and the Practices which follow there-
' upon; and of her *Image-Worship*, and *Cross-Wor-*
' *ship*. Not to mention her Ceremonies, which for their
' Number are intolerable, and for their Nature such as
' vilify, pollute, and deprave the Worship of God; these
' are the things which make our *French Brethren* dissent
' from the Publick Establishment.'

Here the Reader sees, that the *Gallican Church* is so far from being represented as a true Church, that it is made to hold things inconsistent with the most noble, essential, and integral parts of Christianity. Here the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is not made a real Sacrifice, or the Clergy real sacrificing Priests, or the Body really present; * ~~Saints here, by allowing but one Mediator, are excluded from that Office.~~ But now the very same *Jacobites*, in hopes of advancing the Cause of the Pretender, and drawing us nearer to *France* and *Rome*, chang'd their stile, write directly the Reverse; and cry up these very Popish Doctrines, which they before so much condemn'd.

And nothing can be a higher Reflection on our Convocation, than *Lesley's* supposing they were ready to enter into a Treaty with this *Pagano-Christian Church*; and that the † *English Convocation* not being suffer'd to sit while that of *France* lasted, render'd any Treaty between them impracticable. And we can make no Treaty with them, but must be as fatal to our Church as a late Treaty of Commerce, had it obtain'd a Parliamentary Sanction, would have been to the State: Since we can have no Union, without intirely coming over to them; they being, as this Author observes from the Decrees of the *Gallican Church* in 82. so ty'd down by the

* Appendix to the Two Treatises, p. 211.

† Case of the Regale, p. 263. Ed. 2.

Canons of their General Councils, that they will not allow the Pope has any Power to dispense with them; who, he says, † ‘Offer’d to Queen *Elizabeth*, Prayers in the ‘vulgar Tongue, the Cup to the Laity, or any thing, if ‘she would but own his Supremacy.’ So that whatever advances other Popish Churches might make towards a Union, the *Gallican* Church can’t stir a step.

But there is still another Artifice made use of to draw our Clergy into the Snare: Revenge is so bewitching a Passion, and has such a strange Influence over some Men, that in order to ruin those whom they hate, they will eagerly come into any Measures, without regarding in the least, how they themselves may be affected by them. Now the *Jacobites*, who, like the Devil, are indefatigable in Mischief, and neglect no Methods that may serve to further their pernicious Designs, know well how to apply to the Passions of such of our Clergy, whose Warmth against the Dissenters carries them so far, that they would be willing to purchase their Extirpation almost at any rate. And therefore the *Jacobites* endeavour to persuade these mistaken Zealots, that the only way to destroy *that Brood of Vipers*, the Dissenters, is to unite our Church with that of *Rome*: And then, they assure them, this long wish’d for Work may be speedily and easily accomplish’d. The Author of the *Case of the Regale*, &c. spends several Pages to this purpose, and endeavours to shew how reasonable it is, that the Church of *England* and of *Rome* should unite, and that no Toleration should be allow’d to the Protestant Dissenters.

But let not our Clergy be thus deceiv’d, for should *they*, in order to set aside the Toleration, be instrumental in bringing in *Popery*, they would pay as dear for it as the Horse in the Fable; who to be reveng’d on his old Enemy, the Stag, was content to take a Rider upon his Back, and a Bit in his Mouth; and bought the Pleasure of his Revenge at no less a Price than the Loss of his Liberty. In this Case to admit *Popery*, in order to extirpate the

† *Case of the Regale*, p. 243.

Dissenters, would be just such another prudent piece of Revenge as that Man took, who hang'd himself purely to plague one who held an Estate by his Life.

Tho therefore the Church and the Dissenters differ in Matters of Ecclesiastical Discipline, yet they both agree in points of Interest; and therefore whenever that comes to be concern'd, and the Constitution of their Country is at stake, they ought to act as *Ephraim* and *Judah* were advis'd to do in a Case of the like nature, and join unanimously against their Enemies, the *Philistines*.

But amongst the more moderate Clergy, on whom the former Trick is too gross to be impos'd, the Wheedle is put in another Light, and the *Jacobites* tell them, that the only way to root out those Enemies to the very being of Religion, the *Sceptists*, *Deists*, and *Atheists* (who, as they pretend, are at present so numerous amongst us) is to be re-united to the Church of *Rome*: by which means the Ecclesiastical Authority will be enlarg'd, and our Church will have it in her power to root out all such Emissaries of the Devil.

But this will appear as ridiculous as the former, since Men of *no* Religion will profess *any*, rather than submit to the least Punishment. And Popery is so far from being a Cure to this Evil, that the Number of these Monsters is infinitely greater in Popish than Protestant Countries.

They who see so much of the Popish Religion to be a Cheat, rashly conclude all the rest to be so; and, like their Priests themselves, set Religion and Priestcraft both on the same foot: And the bringing in of Popery, especially if the Clergy are instrumental in it, must wonderfully contribute to their increase. Let not therefore our Clergy suffer themselves to be impos'd on by the Artifices of the *Jacobites*, but shew the Wisdom of the Serpent, as well as the Innocence of the Dove. And since 'tis their Interest, as well as Duty, to support the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hannover*; and since their own, as well as the Nation's Welfare can't be safe on any other bottom: let them earnestly endeavour to instil into Mens Minds, such Principles as are proper for securing this important Point. So will they discharge their
Con-

Conscience, and be in the highest Esteem with God and Man; and after having enjoy'd all the Blessings of this Life, they will be able to say with St. Paul, We have fought a good Fight, we have finish'd our Course, and have kept the Faith; wherefore there is laid up for us a Crown of Glory, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give us in the last Day.

FINIS.

